175 Upper Barama area. Rather, the settlements were dispersed along the
161 river corridor and varied in population size from fifteen to fifty
162 individuals (1934:333).[5] The Carib settlements were named for the
361 [103] creek they were near (1936:98), and house structures were located in the cultivated fields. Thus, locations fluctuated around a creek as well as among creeks. Accordingly, ten inhabited settlements in the Upper Barama River area could be estimated to represent a population [126] of perhaps 200. This number is also supported by genealogies recorded in 1970-71.

175 With respect to interactions among these settlements in the Upper
628 Barama River area, Gillin reports that the residents of Savari were in contact with Haiari, Kwamata, and Kureva (1936:106). He also reports that this group of Caribs was "completely out of touch with those farther up the river" (1936:106).

Subsequent inquiry reveals this may not have been the case.[6] Verbal communication as well as a recognition of kinship relationships seem to have been maintained throughout the Upper Barama River area during this early period. In 1970-71, one informant remembers that as a small boy he accompanied an adult male relative on a walk from one of the settlements in the upper section of the Upper Barama *[177] River to visit other relatives in Savari. They were lured by news of the white man (Gillin) living there and curious enough to go and see for themselves. However, when they reached Savari, Gillin was in Georgetown. The travelers had to content themselves with a close examination of all the camp gear.

Contacts among the Carib settlements on the lower section of the

175 628 Upper Barama seem to have been more frequent than contacts among the Carib settlements in the upper section of the Upper Barama. However, it is also apparent that the most immediate external contacts each group of settlements had were with each other.

In 1932-33, the frequency of contacts seems to have been relative to distance. That is, no specialized settlements are reported in respect to seasonal or other activities. 175 361 [582] All Carib settlements seem to have been much alike in their dependence on the rain forest. The bush resources relied upon include predominantly territorial animals and widely dispersed plant species. Desirable land for cultivation, a mixture of sand and clay on a hillside in close proximity to a permanent stream, was limited (Gillin 1936:14). As a consequence, settlements are widely scattered. Figure 7 depicts the dispersed nature of Carib settlements in the Upper Barama River area for this earlier time period. Realignments would occur with the relocation of settlements. After a number of years, a move might be made to more advantageous hunting and gathering and more fertile soil. Other cultural practices as well promoted this scattered, shifting pattern [586] [592] of settlement. A divorce tended to result in the relocation of individuals (Gillin 1936:79-80): the rupture of male friendships, in [775] [768] the relocation of households (1936:136). Also, due to a belief in the malevolent nature of a person's spirit, a clearing would be abandoned in the event of a death (Gillin 1936:165).

175 *177 361 Later, with the availability of external resources, settlements were no longer scattered solely along the Barama River corridor. Over time, a centralization of settlements developed in relationship

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43]

241 311 *177 agreements are made concerning the direction particular men will move in cutting down bush for new fields. Land which would traditionally be regarded as unsuitable for farming is being used. Increasing land areas are being exposed and, thus, the potential for extensive land deterioration exists. The ultimate impact of these activities by 551 people within fifty square miles of bush cannot be completely related in that the data available disclose the effect of only the first year of this more centralized settlement pattern.

361 *177 In conclusion, among the Upper Barama River Carib population, the capacity for transience has been differently adapted to the succession of resource situations. The first settlement pattern was an adaptation in a position of relative isolation in the rain forest. In response to the dispersed nature of local subsistence resources, the Carib population was dispersed in settlements along the river system. These settlements fluctuated in population size, and there is evidence [628] to suggest that personnel exchanges were more frequent within two groups of people, one located in the upper section and the other in the lower section of the Upper Barama River corridor. In any event, this was changed with regional contacts and exchange opportunities. A nucleation of the local population has emerged in response to the introduction of centers of external resources, the mine and the air [464] strip. At the mine, employment was available to only a portion of the Carib population. The remainder of the population maintained a subsistence in the bush, although incorporating occasional market opportunities at the mine. The mobility of the unemployed population in the satellite settlements of Aranka and Baramita, and perhaps the

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

IV

MARKET OPPORTUNITIES: REGIONAL NETWORKS OF EXCHANGE

*179 438 439 [182] Over time, the subsistence economy of the Upper Barama River Caribs has been supplemented by various regional markets. As a consequence, the common material exchanges that serve the Upper Barama River Caribs as a population have changed. An increasing extralocal involvement in regional networks of exchange has been added to a local adaptation to the rain forest, and new resources have been made available to this population.

175 182 During Gillin's study in 1932-33, subsistence resources were derived primarily from the natural environment. The similar nature of the local adaptations of the Carib settlements dispersed along the [628] [938] Upper Barama River corridor has been discussed. There was no apparent basis for specialization and trade among settlements. Within each 175 421 settlement, material property was individually owned. A man owned his clothing, field, house, hunting and fishing equipment, canoe, tools, and the game he caught (Gillin 1934:335). A woman owned her clothing, implements for working in the field and house, including pottery and basketry (although basketry was exclusively made by the men in their household). All tools were usually manufactured by the individual owning them or someone in their household. Within settlements, food [621] was distributed, tools were shared, and assistance rendered in the activities of making a living in the bush.

175 622 A headman was recognized in each settlement (John Miller in Savari), but his authority rested on his influence. Aspects of personality, the number of relatives, as well as physical strength were factors in the choice of headman. Although the duties of headman lacked definition, for the most part they involved coalescing group opinion and action. All of this was done informally. Group action 175 629 would be taken against individuals who threatened the pattern of sharing resources and rendering assistance within the settlement. Ostracism, exile, or, more rarely, violence would be employed (Gillin 1934:337).

175 [648] [701] [622] At this time, the Upper Barama River Caribs constituted an indigenous population within a British colony. In this colonial environment, there was no organization among these Caribs for war or defense which would compel leadership (Gillin 1934:344). Dispersed in the 175 • 628 rain forest, remote from the center of European power, there was no other basis for unity among this population. Before extensive regional trade and a money economy were introduced by the mining companies, these dispersed settlements tended to be closed with regard to patterns of obtaining and sharing subsistence resources. Exchanges *177 621 among settlements involved shifts of personnel. Increasingly, the boundary of the resource sharing social unit has become constricted within the larger, more stabilized settlements around centralized networks of regional exchange.

Organization for Gold Mining

*179 592 464 In addition to centralizing settlements, employment and other market opportunities provided by gold mining activities from 1940 to